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Devolution and Imperial Federation

BY PROFESSOR EDITH E. WARE, Sc.D., CHATTANOOGA UNIVERSITY

The word devolution has recently become an English political slogan. Its champions advance it as a means of relieving the congestion of work in Parliament, or to meet the Irish claim for self-government, or as the mechanism preliminary to Imperial Federation; some even claim it can do all three.

Since the autumn of 1919 the term has been used most frequently in connection with Ireland. Its champions would have provincial legislatures in Scotland, Wales, England, Ireland and perhaps Ulster. This, they have argued, would relieve overburdened Westminster of numerous matters of local concern which could be more promptly and more intelligently dealt with in each locality. On the other hand, since all English opinion is certain that the Republic of Ireland would not only threaten the unity of the Empire, but is also impossible from the standpoint of defense alone, and since many in England are equally certain that a Dominion of Ireland is impossible because of the impracticability of allowing to Ireland the powers of the self-governing Dominions—namely, separate coinage, separate postage, separate army and navy, and separate tariffs—devolution of powers in local affairs to an Irish provincial legislature, as one of several such bodies, has been seized upon as a logical readjustment. This, its advocates claim, should satisfy Irish protests against unintelligent, unsympathetic legislation by the Westminster Parliament, relieve that Parliament of distracting matters, and maintain the unity of the British Isles.

Yet, because of the urgency of the Irish question, they would not wait to complete the reorganization, but would begin immediately by applying it to Ireland. Federation of provinces within the United Kingdom would, of course, be necessary for the sake of mutual protection and welfare. The provincial legislatures would, for this reason, surrender to the Imperial Parliament the major attributes of sovereignty; and Ireland, maintaining her own Parliament with its responsible executive, should also have representation in the Imperial Parliament. When this much of devolution should have been accomplished, then the Government of Ireland Act of 1914 and the Act of Union of 1800 would be repealed.

Thus the ideal of Federal Devolution is obviously union for common purposes. The determination of what such common purposes are would rest with the Imperial Parliament, which would delegate to the provincial legislatures the powers Westminster might

consider local, matters of Imperial concern would probably include trade relations, taxation, import and export duties, army and navy.

So much, however, is being said about devolution in connection with Ireland that the ultimate ideal of a possible reorganization of the Empire is frequently forgotten. For that reason it is often thought that the theory is being offered merely as a ruse to quiet Ireland, that through a vague plan for the future it is hoped that Ireland may be cajoled out of some of her extreme demands and remain, to all intents and purposes, a part of the British Isles under a sovereign Parliament at Westminster. The keenest critic of this political strategy is George Bernard Shaw. He grants that there is "at first sight something to be said for the blessed word 'Devolution.' In the London House of Commons, when you want to do anything, you must persuade the lymphatic majority that you are not doing it. And if, as is more often the case, you want to avoid doing anything, you must persuade the mercurial minority that you are doing it. Thus, when it at last became evident to the more intelligent Unionists that Home Rule was inevitable, they had to find a plausible disguise for it. As a measure of satisfaction for Irish national sentiment it would have provoked the Unionists to die in the last ditch (in the persons of their agents and the royal Irish Constabulary and its military auxiliaries) sooner than vote for it. But as a measure of relief for an overworked British Parliament it could be presented as an obligation of our common humanity. Surely such minor but time-consuming duties as the administration of the islands off the British coast could be shifted from the Atlas shoulders of the British Government by bringing Ireland into line with the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands, and thus devolving her affairs upon local bodies. . . . Why not, then, call Home Rule Devolution, and move the second reading in an affecting speech showing that Devolution, far from being repudiation of the Union, is its inevitable consummation as a Union of Hearts? The Nationalists would vote for it because it was Home Rule; the Unionists would vote for it because it wasn't, and the British public would applaud it as statesmanlike, the popular conception of statesmanship being Humbug All Round." In more serious strain he explains that devolution would necessitate a definition of powers, and that, in endeavoring to enumerate what an Irish Parliament may or may not

do, Ireland is put in the position of an individual who "if he may not do anything except what the law expressly authorizes or enjoins, then he is a slave, no matter how generous the code may be. . . . If he may do everything except what the law expressly forbids him to do, he is free, no matter how Draconian the code may be. His residual rights, not his legal obligations or disabilities, are the test." Thus to a nation seeking its freedom "Devolution means no more than 'Good doggie! you may carry my stick!' It leaves all the residual powers with England, and puts upon Ireland the burden of such legislative jobs as the London House of Commons is too busy or too lazy or too stupid to find time for." It would be a great relief to the London Parliament. "But to Ireland it would be an affirmation of her slavery and an aggravation of it by putting upon her the drudgery of government without the freedom to govern herself as she pleases. It would unload part of England's job on to Ireland without making it Ireland's job."

The insincere champions of Devolution deserve every bit of this captious criticism; and if Devolution is merely a fake *deus ex machina* it is worthy no more attention.

But it seems to have advocates who think fairly and in terms of the Empire. They see in Federal Devolution a possible substitute for the futile attempts of the Imperial Conferences to accomplish contractual co-operation in trade and defense between the various self-governing colonies and the mother country. The sincere political theorist opposes separate legislatures for Scotland, Wales and parts of England, because the Island of Britain has essentially common interests and needs uniform laws for coinage, railroads, post-office, divorce, insurance for unemployment, et cetera. To grant to numerous provincial legislatures even the minimum powers that Ireland requires would, indeed, be disastrous to Britain, while to grant to Ireland only such particularistic powers as would suit Wales or Scotland would be entirely inadequate to Ireland's needs. Instead, therefore, of this division of Britain, it is suggested that all of Britain should be one unit and all of Ireland another; each unit would then need all powers such as the self-governing Dominions exercise, for example, direct taxation, excise, customs, railways, factory and industrial legislation, naturalization, quarantine, post service. Britain and Ireland, in consequence, would each be in equivalent need of a Federal Parliament which should have sovereign jurisdiction in matters relating to the crown; in foreign relations, peace and war, defense; in weights and measures, copyrights and patent rights, and all other common imperial interests. By such a reorganization a new situation would be created, namely, that Ireland would be a self-governing Dominion like Canada, that Britain would be a self-governing Dominion like Australia; that the self-governing nations within the Empire—England, Ireland, Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand—would all have common interests in defense, in foreign and interstate commerce, in copyrights and patents, for example, and, therefore, need a Federal or Imperial Parliament.

These theorists believe that this program posits a solution which would obviate the defects of the proposals of Cecil Rhodes and the Hamiltonians of the nineties who looked at the colonies and the mother country as part of a governmental organism and who, therefore, would add to the Parliament of England representatives from distant parts of the Empire, in order that, having recognized the principle of representation, it would, then, be possible to tax the colonies for Imperial defense. Such a plan, it is clear, did not distinguish between the Parliament of England and the Parliament of the Empire, and, in consequence, colonial representatives would virtually be members by courtesy to observe and acquiesce, but not to determine the proceedings. This program was consistently rejected by the self-governing colonies which were developing into a group of nations whose eminent spokesman, General Smuts, has defined concisely their present conception of their status. "We are not a State, but a community of States and Nations."

Since the Colonial Conference of 1907, the Imperial General Staff has endeavored, through reciprocity of officers between England and the Dominions, to accomplish military co-operation; and the Committee on Imperial Defense has been a clearing house for opinion and information. This latter committee, like the British Cabinet in having no legal status for its being, was composed of Ministers of the Army and Navy, Prime Minister, Foreign Secretary and Secretary for India; and the Prime Ministers or representatives of the Dominions, who happened to be in London, might attend. It had no real powers; its function was merely consultative. For this reason it would have been of no real value to the Dominions to have had permanent representation in it: the actual administration remains in the hands of the English Government. Again the Dominion members are merely members, by courtesy, to observe and acquiesce in the proceedings. Not only was no permanent advance toward a general Imperial Federation made by these expedients, but, since neither body is representative or responsible, obviously no real progress can be expected; instead these two innovations must remain but episodes in Imperial relations, not precedents upon which to construct satisfactory machinery of permanent contractual co-operation.

Nevertheless the succession of Imperial Conferences, through which these special arrangements were made possible, have, without question, done much for Imperial understanding. The Imperial Conferences, however, were councils of diplomats representing various self-governing parts of the Empire; they were not organs of government. Recommendations of the meetings were reported to their home governments for action, but no authority was exercised by any Conference. The exercise of such authority was impossible without changing the character of the Conference and allowing it to become a sovereign body. The practice of making recommendation on matters of first importance in Imperial affairs would have elevated the Conferences from consultations between various parts of the Empire to agreements between

diplomatic representatives of allies. Since neither of these alternatives was welcome to the English and Imperial Parliament, the Imperial Conferences remained Imperial Conferences, and the real problems of the Empire remained unsolved.

The war, however, brought new emergencies, and in 1917 a War Cabinet was assembled which included the British War Directory and representatives from the self-governing Colonies and India. This was in accordance with no former theory or practice, but, instead, it appeared to many as a possible starting point for the development of machinery for Imperial co-operation. The self-governing Colonies and India, involved in a war by a government responsible only to the people of the British Isles, had shown such remarkable loyalty and co-operation that their invaluable assistance merited recognition in a time of crisis. When, therefore, their representatives were invited to the Imperial War Cabinet their innovation was hailed as a precedent for the creation, after the war, of an Imperial Council. The War Conference itself was conscious of this possibility to the extent of passing a resolution that, while basing any future adjustment upon the recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth, and of India as an important portion of the same, they should recognize the right of the Dominions and India to adequate voice in foreign policy and foreign relations, and should provide effective arrangements for continuous consultation in all important matters of Imperial concern. And the Prime Minister is reported as saying: "We hope that the holding of an annual Imperial Cabinet to discuss foreign affairs and other aspects of Imperial policy will become an accepted convention of the British Constitution." But in spite of these good intentions there remains to be considered the very practical problem of responsibility—to whom is this Cabinet, as a whole, responsible; and, moreover, what real powers can it have? The Prime Minister would be responsible to the English Parliament for national business, but without special provision, involving a very drastic change, the foreign policy would remain in the hands of the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, who, at present, makes treaties and outlines policies which may, without even the knowledge of either the Prime Minister or Cabinet, bring the nation to the brink of war. The Imperial Council, therefore, made up of Prime Ministers or special delegates from the United Kingdom, the self-governing Colonies and India, would each be responsible to their home governments, and the Council as a whole would not be responsible to anybody. The administration of foreign affairs, moreover, could not be in its hands; it would, in consequence, be merely an advisory body without any unity and without any authority. The impracticability of an Imperial Cabinet's preventing a repetition of the situation of 1914, when the Dominions faced the consequences of a foreign policy which was framed without their concurrence and without their knowledge, seems apparent.

The terminology, the Commonwealth of Nations, accepted, and frequently used, in England since the

visit of General Smuts (1916), indicates the presence, within the Empire, of a theory other than that of the Hamiltonians, other than that of Imperial consultation, and other than that of the war strategists. This third theory is named by its New Zealand champion, Richard Jebb, the Britannic Alliance. Based upon the principle of the equality of the self-governing nations within the Empire, this theory received public recognition when each was granted its own representatives in the League of Nations. It was recognized again when, in the distribution of mandates, South Africa received German West Africa, and New Zealand the German islands of the Samoan group, just as England received German East Africa. And yet, in spite of this recognition of status, there has so far been evolved no machinery by which the economic responsibilities of defense, common to all self-governing nations, can be mutually agreed upon.

The recent interpretation of the theory of Federal Devolution offers a potential program which dodges the limitations of the Hamiltonian conception, which can substitute something real for the nominal Imperial Council based upon the War Cabinet, and which can, perhaps, meet the most exacting demands of the self-governing Dominions. With England a Dominion, the Imperial Parliament could concern itself with English or Irish affairs just as far as today it concerns itself with Australian affairs. Foreign affairs, on the other hand, would be a department not of the English Government, but of the Imperial Government; it would be the concern of all the Dominions equally and, therefore, the prerogative of the Imperial Parliament. The details of finance and administration within the various Dominions may prove to be knotty problems, but they will be problems not of England's Parliament, but of a Parliament representative, equally, of all self-governing Dominions, including England, and, therefore, the co-operation and not the fear of the self-governing Colonies should be counted upon.

An Imperial Parliament separated from England's Parliament is, however, not a new idea; in fact, very well worked out programs for Imperial Government were presented in 1916 by Lionel Curtis and W. Basil Worsfold. They pointed out the necessity of the separation of English from Imperial affairs: first for the sake of simplifying election issues in England, and, second, for the sake of avoiding the subordination of foreign policy to domestic problems. They also pointed out the inadequacy of Imperial Conferences, and the need of an Imperial Parliament, separate from England's Parliament, having sovereign jurisdiction in foreign affairs, defense and finance, which were common to all parts of the Empire. For these reasons it may appear that Federal Devolution is not a new idea. Measured by its ultimate aim, it is not; but the process of applying devolutions to Ireland, and Federal devolution to the United Kingdom as the beginning of Imperial Federation is a new method of procedure. The immediate issue, the government of Ireland, then, is pressing the consideration of Imperial organization.

Territorial Problems of the Peace Conference

(Abstract of an address by PROFESSOR DOUGLAS JOHNSON, of Columbia University, Chief of the Division of Boundary Geography, American Commission to Negotiate Peace, delivered before the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland, at Easton, Pa., May 7, 1920.)

The territorial problems of the Peace Conference may roughly be divided into two groups—those which primarily affected the vital interests of one or more of the five principal allied and associated powers, and those who primarily concerned the smaller allied powers and the new states created by the Conference. Problems of the first type were usually subject to special negotiations and were discussed in the Supreme Council without reference to a territorial commission; whereas problems of the second type were first discussed at much length in the commissions specially created by the Conference for the purpose, and only after tentative boundaries had been drawn by these territorial commissions were the questions brought up in the Supreme Council for final decision.

In the solution of both types of problems the historical, geographic, economic and other specialists played an important rôle. Throughout the preliminary negotiations between the powers, the territorial specialists, on the basis of their studies, advised the Chiefs of Government on the different aspects of each question, and in a number of cases actually handled the preliminary negotiations. When each problem came up for final debate in the Supreme Council, or in the Council of Four (Chiefs of Government) the specialists concerned with that particular problem were called into consultation, and in the Supreme Council were usually present to advise the Government Chiefs during the debate. Tentative settlements were submitted to the specialists for analysis and criticism before final approval, so that in a variety of ways the specialists rendered important services to their respective governments.

The geographers, historians, economists and other specialists played an even more important part in settling those problems in which the vital interests of the Great Powers were not so directly involved, but in which settlement might be hoped for on the basis of an impartial study of the geographic, ethnographic, historical and economic factors involved. Special territorial commissions were constituted to consider the territorial claims of Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Greece, Poland, etc., and a Central Territorial Commission was later created to co-ordinate the findings of the commissions first named. Each territorial commission consisted of two representatives from each of the Great Powers. For the European powers the representatives on these commissions were apt to be men trained in the respective foreign offices, while the American representatives

were for the most part college professors selected from the group of specialists attached to the American Peace Commission.

The procedure of a territorial commission was usually first to hear the representatives of the interested countries present their respective claims. Thus in the case of the disputed territory of the Banat, the Rumanian representatives, who demanded all of this region, were heard in defense of their claim, and equal opportunity was afforded the Yugoslav representatives to substantiate their contention that a large proportion of the area should be assigned to Yugoslavia. The representatives of each country would then present their views, supplemented, if necessary, by the expert opinions of other specialists brought into conference for the purpose. The ensuing debates sometimes extended over weeks, and even then unanimity of opinion was not always reached. To expedite the work particular problems would in some cases be assigned to sub-commissions which would report the results of their deliberations to the main commission. In the end a report accompanied by a detailed map was prepared by each commission, setting forth its conclusions and recommendations and the principal arguments upon which they were based. If differences of opinion persisted, the grounds for such differences were briefly stated and alternative frontiers indicated on the maps.

The territorial problem was then ready for submission to the Supreme Council; or, as frequently happened in the later months of the Conference, first to the Council of Foreign Ministers (the "Big Five") for their consideration, and finally to the Chiefs of Government (the "Big Four") for final decision. Unanimous conclusions of the territorial commissions were usually accepted without much debate. Where a divided report was submitted the majority opinion usually prevailed, although certain concessions to the country holding the minority view were from time to time deemed advisable. If the debate in the Supreme Council or other higher bodies made further study of the problem from some new point of view desirable, the question was returned to the appropriate territorial commission for further consideration. It is an interesting commentary on the work of the territorial commissions, and on the extent to which the new European frontiers were determined on the basis of expert technical advice, that the frontiers finally decided upon were for the most part those agreed upon in commission.

It is not possible, nor would it be appropriate, to review at this time the various arguments submitted by different countries in support of their territorial claims; but it may serve to give you an idea of the kinds of problems with which the territorial specialists were concerned, both in their capacity as advisers to their country's representatives and as representatives themselves on the territorial commissions, if I state very briefly some of the problems which had to receive most careful consideration.

As one example, we may take the Banat, which gave the specialists no end of trouble. The populations in much of this region are badly mixed, and no satisfactory frontier could be delimited on ethnographic grounds alone. In favor of her claim to the whole province Rumania could urge that it was a single geographic unit, bounded on the north, west and south by important waterways, and served by canals and railways which should not be cut by any international frontier. Yugoslavia could urge that the plain of the Banat drained economically towards the Serbian frontier, that considerations of ethnography forbade the inclusion of a large number of their race in Rumania, and that the defense of Belgrade necessitated a foreland of Yugoslav territory on the northern side of the Danube. And this is but to mention a few of the many arguments considered by the commission in the long weeks of its work.

In the southern portion of the Austrian Alps there is a very pronounced basin, or lowland, surrounded on all sides by high mountains. This Klagenfurt Basin presented a problem of peculiar difficulty because its southern half was populated by Yugoslavs, its northern half by Germans. A boundary based on ethnographic lines would divide into two halves a basin which was economically a unit; and the Yugoslav portion would remain separated by a high mountain barrier from the rest of Yugoslavia. Thus the economic and geographic division conflicted sharply with any division based on the principle of nationality. Perhaps the best possible solution of this problem was reached when the Council of Four accepted a proposal to divide the basin into a northern or German half, and a southern or Yugoslav half; and to offer to the southern half the right of self-determination by plebiscite as to whether it would unite with Yugoslavia or with Austria. If the people decide for themselves that economic considerations are paramount and vote for union with Austria despite their racial ties, the problem will be definitely settled. Should racial ties prove the stronger and the plebiscite result in favor of union with Yugoslavia, the German half of the basin is then to have the right to decide by plebiscite whether under these circumstances it will maintain the unity of the basin by joining Yugoslavia, or whether it will prefer economic inconvenience to political separation from the Austrian state. In other words, the people themselves are to determine whether economic or racial ties shall be supreme.

The Thracian question presented in a special form the old problem as to whether the people which in-

habit the coastal fringe of a country, or the people which inhabit the interior shall be most considered in territorial adjustments. Greeks are fairly numerous along the whole Aegean coast, and before the Balkan wars not only outnumbered the Bulgarians in Eastern Thrace, but also to a slight extent in Western Thrace, which was with the assent of Greece assigned to Bulgaria. It would be difficult to assign Eastern Thrace to Greece without giving her Western Thrace as a connecting link, although the possibility of an isolated tract of Greek territory in Eastern Thrace might receive consideration in a country made up so largely of islands and peninsulas, and where communication is in so great a degree by means of the sea. Greece could urge her claim to special consideration as an ally of the democratic powers, especially after the influence of the treacherous Constantine had been overbalanced by that of the brilliant and far-seeing statesman, Venizelos; while Bulgaria as an enemy who had cynically betrayed the cause of humanity for what she believed to be a good bargain could certainly make no appeal to allied tenderness. Greece also urged that the Turkish population in Western Thrace was more friendly to Greek than to Bulgar rule, although there was evidence to controvert the validity of this claim.

On the other hand it was necessary to consider the ultimate effect on the peace of the Balkans of the assignment to Greece of the whole Aegean coast, including that portion of Western Thrace which Greece herself a few years before had agreed could most wisely be assigned to Bulgaria. It was obviously a serious matter to let the punishment of Bulgaria take the form of depriving her of free and direct access to the sea, and restricting her to the round-about outlet by way of the Black Sea, Bosphorus and Dardanelles. It could also be argued that punishment of an enemy by seizure of territory is not wise if the people inhabiting that territory are opposed to such seizure. Bulgaria's legal claim to Western Thrace at the beginning of the war could not be doubted, since she had acquired it not through conquest, but with the assent of Greece when Greece was the conqueror and Bulgaria the conquered. Following the transfer of Western Thrace to Bulgaria the small Greek majority (relative to the Bulgars) necessarily vanished, and the Bulgarian population greatly increased from natural causes; and this wholly independently of the much-disputed question as to whether the decrease in Greeks was or was not the result of Bulgarian massacres or threats of massacre. Thus it could be urged that at the opening of the war Bulgaria had a better ethnographic title to Western Thrace than had Greece. The balancing of the economic, legal and ethnographic claims of an enemy against the special claims of a friendly power necessarily created a problem of very great difficulty.

The Tyrol problem involved questions of an ethnographic, geographic and strategic character. Italy could claim the southern part of the Trentino on ethnographic grounds, but the northern part was almost entirely German. In few places in the world can

one find a more clean-cut ethnographic boundary than between the Italian and German parts of this area. Italy also urged that the geographic unity of the Adige Basin must not be severed by an international boundary, and certainly where a geographic unit is an economic unit, this argument must have great weight. The geographer finds, however, that the drainage basin of the Adige, like many other drainage basins, especially in glaciated regions, is not a geographic unit. The northern boundary of the geographic unit which Italy could properly claim would lie on the high Jaufen Pass rather than on the much lower Brenner, and at the narrow Klausen Gorge rather than at the inconspicuous divide scarcely visible in the bottom of the broad, open Pusterthal Valley. On strategic grounds it must be admitted that the linguistic line would not afford adequate protection for Northern Italy against hostile invasion from the north. The natural geographic frontier, lying north of the linguistic boundary, but in part south of the Brenner line, would be exceedingly difficult for an invader to pass. Of course, the line of the watershed still farther north has additional strategic advantages, as it would hold a potential enemy at bay still farther away from purely Italian territory. The Tyrol problem is evidently one in which strategic advantages had to be weighed against considerations of nationality and sentiment, based on long historic associations.

No problem of the conference was more conspicuous or presented greater difficulties than that of Italy's eastern frontier. The Adriatic problem is in part a naval problem and in part a question of land frontiers. The mountainous, ragged eastern coast of the Adriatic, with its numerous harbors, is in strong contrast with the low and simple western coast, where harbors are few in number and inferior in quality. A naval power on the eastern coast would find itself possessing immense advantages over Italy. A fleet taking refuge in one of the Italian harbors is visible from far out to sea because of the flatness of the coast, whereas vessels secreted along the eastern shore are invisible behind mountain barriers. From the low western coast, observation of an approaching squadron is limited as compared with the better observation enjoyed by those on the dominating heights of the eastern coast. Coast defense artillery has little choice of inferior positions on the western coast, and unlimited choice of excellent positions on the eastern coast. A fleet emerging from one of the western harbors to give battle may be taken unawares before it can develop its battle formation; while a fleet manoeuvring behind the protective fringe of islands on the east coast may emerge from a number of passages simultaneously and assume a pre-determined formation without delay. The Italian submarines, scouting along the eastern shores, find the bottom rough and deep, so that lying in wait for an enemy is a dangerous procedure; while the Austrian submarine finds shallow water and a smooth bottom upon which to lie concealed, pending the passage of an intended victim. The clear waters along the eastern coast reveal hidden

mines or submarines to the scouting hydroplanes, while the murkier waters along the Italian coast make it difficult for Italian observers to locate enemy submarines or mines sown by enemy craft along their shores. Even in the matter of illumination the Italians are at a great disadvantage. Raids are usually made by crossing the sea under the cover of darkness and appearing off the enemy coast in the early morning. When the Austrian raiders thus appear off the Italian coast, their objective is well illuminated by the rising sun, whereas the Italian artillerymen must look into the sun when firing upon their attackers. And when an Italian squadron appears off the eastern coast, it finds its objective obscured by the shadow of high cliffs and must look towards the sun when developing its fire, the while its own vessels are so well illuminated as to form an excellent target for the east coast batteries.

On such arguments as these Italy might claim the need of special consideration in the Adriatic. Without taking the time to develop the counter arguments, I will merely note that in the proposals which have been made for the settlement of the Adriatic question, complete security has been offered to Italy by granting her Pola, Valona and a central island group, three points which have long been recognized as the strategic keys of the Adriatic Sea.

It is not possible at this time to treat all phases of the complicated Adriatic problem, but in closing this portion of my address I will ask your attention to certain aspects of the Fiume question. The peculiar strategic value of this port from both the economic and military points of view is at once apparent. A glance at the map will show that the Dinaric Alps, a broad belt of wild and rugged mountainous country, intervene between the interior of the Balkan peninsula and the Adriatic Sea. South of Fiume this range is crossed by but two or three narrow-gauge railroads, wholly inadequate to serve the commercial needs of the interior. It is no mere coincidence that the only standard gauge road crosses the mountain barrier at its narrowest point, opposite Fiume. Furthermore, the geographic conditions are such as permanently to preclude cheap and efficient rail service from the interior to the coast across the broad portion of the barrier, so that Fiume, advantageously situated opposite its narrowest part, and at the head of a sea that makes water transportation both cheap and easy, is the inevitable economic outlet for the northern part of the Balkan peninsula. It should also be borne in mind that practically the whole standard-gauge railroad system of Yugoslavia is in the latitude of Fiume. This is due to four chief reasons: the broad, fertile river plains of the country are almost entirely confined to that region; nearly two-thirds of the population lives in these plains and valleys; railroad construction there is easy and comparatively inexpensive, and there is sufficient traffic to maintain the roads and keep rates down. Thus it will be seen that the life of the Yugoslav nation is to an unusual degree concentrated in the north of the country, and as the railroad system upon which this economic life depends

has its only direct outlet to the sea at Fiume, it may well be said that the power that holds Fiume holds the life of an entire nation in its hands.

The problem had to be considered from still other points of view. Not only do Austria and Hungary, and to a considerable degree Czechoslovakia and the newly enlarged Rumania look to Fiume as an important economic outlet, but all the outside world desiring to trade with central and southeastern Europe via the Mediterranean route has a very real interest in the settlement of this question. According to the settlement offered Italy, Trieste would go to Italy and Fiume to Yugoslavia. The Italian port could then supply the hinterland by a line of rail which would not have to cross Yugoslav territory; while Fiume could supply the same hinterland by a line not touching Italian possessions. This would insure freedom of commerce to all, both ports and routes being secure from possible interference by a jealous neighbor. All the world would profit from an arrangement which encouraged each country to offer the best port facilities, the most convenient rail connections and the lowest rates compatible with its own proper interests, in order to attract trade.

As to Italy's economic interest in Fiume, little in support of her claim could be advanced. Even if one granted her demand that more than half a million Yugoslavs be placed under her dominion in order to extend her frontier so as to include the few thousand Italians in Fiume, the port would remain at the most remote corner of her territory. It was argued that Italian commerce would not pass by the much more convenient Trieste in order to reach a more distant and less serviceable port. Italy's economic interest in Fiume should therefore be regarded as slight.

As regards Fiume itself, it was pointed out that its artificial harbor was constructed by the Hungarian government at great expense. Before the war it was found to be inadequate, and plans were matured for its enlargement and improvement. These will entail very large future expenditures of government capital. It was seriously questioned whether Italy would ever be prepared to expend huge sums for the development of an artificial peripheral port to compete with the more accessible port of Trieste. In support of this view it was noted that Italy considered it essential that her eastern frontier should be pushed 12 or 15 miles east of Trieste for the protection of its port works. At Fiume the frontier proposed by Italy would, in fact, pass through one of the basins of the port itself, so that a hostile advance of but a few thousand yards would deliver all the port works into enemy hands. If Italy could not afford to develop a port at Trieste without territorial protection, how could she afford to develop a rival port at Fiume having no protection? And the one big, vital interest of Fiume's inhabitants, Italian as well as Yugoslav, is to have their city prosper as a great world port.

There was, as you can see, strong support for the conclusion that the interests of Yugoslavia, of Central Europe, of the outside world and of the people of Fiume itself required that this port should neither

be placed under Italian control, nor made the subject of any territorial device which would weaken confidence in the future security of the port by raising a suspicion that it was calculated to facilitate the future annexation of the port by Italy.

The Shantung problem presented itself to the Conference in a peculiar aspect. England, France and Italy were obligated to support the claims of Japan, so that the Americans found themselves one against four as they stood before the Conference. It was possible, by accepting the settlement actually arrived at, to get from Japan a promise which effectually reversed the whole situation in respect to the position in which these same parties must stand in the future before the League of Nations or any similar international tribunal. Japan's promise of withdrawal, made to America and the other allied powers, means that in any future consideration of this problem not only England, France and Italy stand with America pledged to a settlement involving the withdrawal of Japan, but that Japan herself also stands committed to such a settlement.

The important object was to save Shantung for China, and the vital question was: Which is the wiser procedure, to take a high stand which will send Japan home to hold Shantung permanently, with no possibility that American or other Allied troops will ever be sent to contest her possession of the coveted territory? Or to accept a settlement which, however unsatisfactory in form, carries with it a promise that Shantung will be saved for China? The claim that Mr. Wilson was inconsistent in dealing with the Adriatic problem in one way and the Shantung problem in another, overlooks the all important fact that the two problems were no more alike than is black like white. The settlement with Japan involved a promise to get out of the territories in dispute. The settlement upon which Italy insisted not only contained no such promise, but was believed to threaten the future security of additional Yugoslav territory.

It may appear from what I have said that historical arguments played a small part in the settlement of territorial questions. In general this is true. Some delegations supported their territorial claims by historical arguments based on an ownership which lapsed many centuries ago. But such arguments, even when dating back scarcely more than a century, did not carry great weight. Present geographic, ethnographic, economic, strategic and other actual conditions were deemed of greater value as guides to a just and lasting settlement. In certain instances, it is true, the historical argument added weight to considerations of a different nature. Thus the historic frontier of Bohemia was retained for much of the boundary of Czechoslovakia in part because wide departures from it would create serious geographic, economic and political difficulties; whereas the arguments for slight rectifications were held to be outweighed by those in favor of maintaining a long-established and well-recognized frontier. It should be appreciated, however, that the historians on the staff of specialists were a prime factor in determining

the present conditions upon which nearly all the boundary questions were decided. They outnumbered all other specialists on the staff and on the territorial commissions.

In conclusion, I beg you to remember that I have treated of but one small corner of the complex organization of the Peace Conference; and that I have treated that small part of the subject in a very incomplete and sketchy manner, merely stating arguments as they have occurred to me without any attempt to balance them fairly, or to pass judgment upon them. My object has been not to discuss the merits of the territorial problems, but merely to give you an idea of the kind of work which confronted the territorial specialists in their endeavors to aid in the solution of some of the difficult questions of the peace settlement.

If I may be permitted one or two brief generalizations in closing, I would say that, contrary to widely held opinion, the frontier problems of Europe were in very great measure decided on the basis of serious study and carefully considered recommendations made by unbiased technical experts. Whether good or bad, they certainly represent a more serious effort than has ever before been made in the history of the world to settle questions of this nature on the basis of expert advice rather than on the basis of political bargaining. In the second place let me add that nothing could be more misleading than the prevalent opinion that the President neither sought nor used the advice of the experts who, under his orders, were attached to the Peace Conference. I was an active worker at the Conference from near its assembling the last of December, 1918, until the middle of the following September; and I have kept in close touch with some of its problems since my return. On the basis of this experience I can assure you that the President constantly received the opinions of his territorial experts; that he studied the reports from different sections until he had a grasp of the complicated territorial questions which was not only remarkable, but far superior to that possessed by any of his colleagues of the other powers; that he frequently sent for certain of his specialists to advise with them on pending questions; and that he promptly responded to requests of the specialists for appointments when they thought it important to lay certain phases of a problem personally before him.

This would not be an appropriate occasion for a partisan defense of the President's rôle at Paris; and if it were, I should not be the proper man to make it, for I never voted for Mr. Wilson, and have been strongly opposed to many of his policies. But waiving all questions of a political nature, and equally waiving all questions as to what mistakes the President has or has not made, it is only fair in any discussion of the territorial problems of the Conference to record the facts that the President understood their detailed and complex relations to an extraordinary degree that he debated them in the Supreme Council and in the Council of the Chiefs of Government with remarkable skill and effectiveness; that he exercised a great and beneficial influence on the decisions of the

Conference in territorial matters; and that throughout his handling of these questions he impressed those of us who were working on their technical phases with the conviction that he had a true vision of a new standard of morality in international diplomacy, and that he strove with sincerity and steadfastness to make the decisions of the Conference conform to that standard.

Periodical Literature

By GERTRUDE BRAMLETTE RICHARDS, PH.D.

The Fortnightly Review for July publishes several articles of especial interest to students of contemporary history. Frederic Harrison's *Novissima Verba* (VII) calls attention to the work of Gambetta, who he says "was by far the greatest Frenchman of his time; and his death at the age of forty-four was an irreparable loss to France and to Europe, for as an inspiring national force he was at least the equal of Cavour or Bismarck and he had a nobler nature than either of them." In commenting on M. Paul Deschanel's *Gambetta*, Mr. Harrison goes on to say that the French statesman was "the soul of France in the last desperate defence of 1871; but he was ever greater as the founder of the Republic, 1873-77."

The whole article, aside from the remarks on Gambetta, is particularly well worth reading.

Professor Frederick Pollock's paper on "The Lawyer's Place in the League of Nations," read before the International Law Association at Portsmouth, May, 1920, also appears in this number of the *Review*, and also Professor Firth's "England and the European System" in which he says: "The one great principle to which British statesmen and instructed public opinion have been on the whole fairly constant is that of being against any Power in Europe which has acquired or which has manifestly sought to acquire, a dangerous preponderance of military strength."

Other articles of distinctive merit are "The Turkish Treaty," by H. Charles Woods; "The Revival of the Vatican," by Lesley Huddleston; "The Emperor Francis Joseph as Statesman," by Theodor von Sosnosky, and "The Crisis in Japan," by Robert Machray.

J. Alfred Faulkner undertakes to defend Luther against the charge, so often preferred during these latter years, of being responsible for the war, in his article "Luther and the Great War," *London Quarterly Review* for July. Mr. Faulkner says: "In general I would say that while Luther has been a national hero, yet we can easily exaggerate his influence on the German soldier. Devout followers of Luther in that army were a small minority, the most being free-thinkers, semi-infidel or rationalistic...and Roman Catholic. Probably not one soldier in 75,000 had ever read anything of Luther except his Catechisms, the very books most adapted to turn him away from evil. No, we cannot make Luther or the Reformation responsible for the Great War, much less for its excesses. In fact, just the contrary. Luther, while he held the calling of the soldier an honor-

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Along the Highways of French History

BY PROFESSOR DESDEVICES DU DEZERT

To our brothers-in-arms—English and American

PART ONE

The history of our country presents a chaotic, confused appearance. Were the medical chart of our fevers drawn, we should get a line whose disconcerting rising and falling would take us, many a time, from chasm to summit, and would dash us headlong from the most radiant mountain top to the gloomiest abyss; but the country, from seeming to be lost, rises almost instantly after its fall. The race is wonderfully supple; no calculation is to be applied to it; the foreigner is at a loss to understand it, and the Frenchman himself is often inclined to cry out in wonder, amazed at being still alive when everything had conspired for his ruin and death.

The most profound word that, to my mind, was ever said about our nation was uttered by one of our enemies—Bismarck. One day, he developed the idea—and a true one it is—that nations, as well as individuals, have a sex. Germany was, for him, the type of the male nation, and France the type of the female nation. I agree with the saying, I adopt it, and I consider it by no means an insult. Have there not been warlike women? Was ever the bravery of the women of Gaul and of France questioned in the country of Eponina, Joan of Arc, and Madame Roland?

Our nation is a woman-nation—which means that we find in it the grace, the wit, the delicacy, the sensibility, the idealism, the powerful devotion, the heroic abnegation, the ardent and ingenious charity that make so many women worth admiring. But do we not also find in our country the over-credulous candor, the proneness to infatuation, the aptness for being easily disheartened, the fickleness—to call it by its name—the weakness of mind, that jeopardize in the case of so many women the rarest and most felicitous gifts?

Our enemy was certainly bearing in mind our defects, but his axiom proves much truer than his hatred could fancy. So, let us accept it, but in its entirety, both defects and virtues, for we have a right to be pleased with our lot, we may well be proud of our mother.

If a man who has been studying the history of France for over forty years may be allowed to venture a general idea, I shall say that, to my mind, we have remained what we were 2500 years ago, when Sigovesus and Bellovesus set out to conquer Cisalpine Gaul. We have remained non-repentant Gauls, men fond of adventure and impatient of all authority, our minds affected by eloquence and too often deceived by words; passionate, impulsive men, deeply in love with the eternal feminine, with, in the bottom of our hearts, an undying mysticism which is perhaps our most valuable gift, the great secret of our vitality and of our miraculous revivals.

The Gaul was looked upon by the ancients as the very type of the warrior, the "living sword." Our first luxury was that of weapons. Gallant must our Vercingetorix have looked, with his bronze armor, his striped tunic, his winged helmet on his head, his neck and arms adorned with golden rings, his charger covered with a wolf's hide, rushing headlong at full gallop, amid the noise of tinkling bells.

Right valiantly did the Gauls fight, defending, for nine years, their Barbarian soil and their liberty against the greatest captain of antiquity.

They were eloquent, too; the "Commentaries" of the victor bear witness to the fact. What words were ever nobler and prouder than those of Vercingetorix: "We have risen to arms for the liberty of all?" Two thousand years have elapsed, and the words of the old chief, engraven on the porphyry of his monument, may be found again on our own lips.

Woman has always exercised in Gaul an unparalleled influence. The ancients used to praise the fair hair of the women of Gaul, and, as nothing is new beneath the sun, we read that such women as had dark hair, stained it tawny-colored, by dipping it into a dye made from the bark of the ash-tree. Our ancestors had been struck by the sharp wit and the unerring judgment of their wives, and they attributed to them the gift of prophecy. Those simple-minded people mistook the subtlety and shrewdness inborn in the feminine mind for witchcraft. It is said that Hannibal having made a treaty with a tribe of Gauls from the banks of the Aude, the chiefs asked leave to show the treaty to the women of the tribe before signing it, and as the Carthaginian wondered: "It may be," replied the chief, "that thou hast tried to cheat us and that we know not how; but our women's eyes are sharper than ours, and what we have not seen, they will find out."

Women enjoyed such consideration in Gaul that sometimes the sacerdotal functions were bestowed upon them. Druidism had its priestesses, clad in fine linen tunics, crowned with vervain and armed with golden sickles.

Very little is known of Druidism; nothing has remained of the 250,000 lines that embodied the doctrine and that were learned by heart by the candidates to the priesthood in the great schools of the country of the Carnutes (Chartres). Yet Druidism seems to have been a twofold religion, with one popular doctrine and one reserved for the initiated. It seems to have been the best organized religion of antiquity.

The polytheism of the Gauls was related closely enough to the Roman polytheism to allow the gods of the Gauls to assume Latin names, as was the case

for our Mercurius Dumias, just as Taran became Jupiter. The Gauls seem to have adopted the Greco-Roman gods, at the same time keeping their own. An old altar discovered in Paris mentions Sivier, Kernunos, the horned god, Hesus, Tavros trigaranos, the bull with the three cranes, that do not belong to the Roman Pantheon. We know that the Gauls worshipped the mother goddesses: Epona, Tutela, Vesunna, all sorts of spirits protecting woods and forests. Menhirs were used as burial places up to the time of Septimus-Severus; the imperial power was predicted to Diocletian by a Druidess.

So the Gauls kept their gods along with the deities of Roman importation. The folklore grew richer and the mysticism of the race stronger. The Gauls lived in an enchanted world; behind every rock, behind every tree, at the bottom of each spring, there lurked some god or doggess.

The ancients tell us that the secret doctrine of the Druids was altogether different from the popular belief; we are told that the Druids believed in one god, in future life, in the immortality of the soul—but we do not know what was the influence of Christianity over these great subjects.

But we know that Druidism was really a constituted church, with its clergy, hierarchy, discipline, tenets, councils, and its supreme head. The clergy was recruited by co-optation. The Druids chose and attracted to them the most serious and industrious young men, and taught them the dogmas. Then the young "eubage" (clerk) received the holy orders and went on with his studies; he became a Druid, had to offer the gods solemn sacrifices in the name of the tribe, bloody sacrifices, sometimes most ghastly. He kept up the religious spirit among the people, conjured charms, took part in the government of the tribes and of local confederations. At regular intervals meetings of the Druids were held at Chartres. A great Druid, the Supreme Priest, watched over the maintenance of orthodoxy and punished the heretics by pronouncing against them a redoubtable excommunication.

So Gaul appears to us, from the early dawn of its history, very similar to what it became later on: a warlike and aristocratic nation, with the lower classes subjected to hard slavery, and an organized and powerful clergy. Let us add the lack of national unity, and we shall conclude that chivalrous, clerical, and anarchic Gaul is already the prefiguration of the feudal France of the eleventh century.

About Roman Gaul we know as little as about Barbarian Gaul. Yet the inscriptions have revealed to us some details of local life, which was both thriving and intense. The relics of the Gallo-Roman monuments prove the richness of the country. It is well known that Gaul gave emperors to Rome, and one of the best, Antonius Pius, was a burgher of Nîmes; Avitus was an Arvern.

The works of H. M. Longnon, Zèvort, Jullian, on Gaul, mention that the province had, in the Western Empire, a special importance, and enjoyed liberties denied to others. It held general assemblies at Lyons,

at the foot of the altar of Rome and of Augustus; it had flourishing schools; it gave to Latin literature some of its later names, the orator Domitius Afer, the historian Trogus Pompeius, the rhetor Eumenes, the poet Ausonius, the poet Numatianus.

But Roman Gaul showed that she was feminine by adopting too soon and too completely the Roman fashion; she took the language, the arts, the manners of the victor; she gave the fatal example of a nation that yields and is false to herself.

In this she was wrong. For my part, I regret that the Celtic tongue did not expand; I regret the disappearance of the Druidical poems, of the national worship, of the gathering of the sacred mistletoe, of the poetical plays of the bards, of the long recitals, sung to the accompaniment of the golden harps. I would willingly give the poem on the Moselle from Ausonius and the praise of Rome from Numatianus for two pages of the Druidical poems.

But who knows how deep the Roman veneer penetrated? Who may know the thoughts of a woman? Who may know what Gaul did think?

I cannot help fancying she remained much more faithful to her past than is generally thought. Like a subdued nation, she held her peace and adapted herself to circumstances; the victor thought she had submitted, but silently, secretly, in her heart of hearts, Gaul remained Gaul.

Peace made her wealthy and thriving; houses assumed a bright, sociable aspect; the inscriptions show us how powerful family spirit remained among the Gauls, what place wife and child held in the household. On marble tombstones are to be read pious wishes, loving cries drawn from the agony of mourning; we see, carved in the stone, the beloved features of a little girl still carrying in her arms her kitten, the friend of her childhood, her favorite plaything.

Which of you has not seen, in our Museum, the very interesting sepulchre discovered years ago at the "Martres de Veyre." The dead woman was buried with all she was fond of: her woolen dress, her leg-gings, her slippers, the head-dress she wore on feast days. Beside her, fruits were put in finely woven baskets, stewed meat in a red earthenware dish, perfumes in glass vials which time has turned into magnificent opals. We may guess that the deceased had been loved and mourned for; in her tomb had been placed all that could give pleasure to her spirit. That cult of Death, the true national religion of Gaul and of France, inclined the minds of the people toward mystery, and opened them, at an early period, to the speculations of Christianity.

The Gospel was welcome indeed to those troubled souls looking for a god like unto themselves, among the cruel and ironic deities of pagan Olympus. The apostles of the new dogma taught people that faith saves men and redeems them from death; their hope was full of immortality. They told, too, that the soul of the humblest slave is as valuable in the eyes of the Father as the Emperor's soul; they uttered the wonderful words of mercy, forgiveness, and love.

Nay, the new comers did not rudely drive away the ancient popular deities of the country; they only altered their names, and men could keep on going in processions to the trees and to the springs. Tutela was replaced by the Virgin Mary.

Gaul accepted Christianity and was soon covered with churches and monasteries. High time it was, for the great Teutonic invasions were about to submerge the Occident. Ghastly was the flood of Alains, Goths, Vandals, Cépids, Lombards, all the savage tribes rushing from the forests and marshes beyond the Rhine.

A picture from the hand of a modern Spanish artist shows us what the times were like. During a stormy evening, beneath the lowering sky, the wet temples are glistening and the large slabs of the Roman way are hurrying past; heads dripping with blood are flashing. Attracted by a sudden noise, a group of young women have ventured beneath the colonnade; what they see petrifies them with horror. At full gallop, on their wild horses, howling horsemen, half-naked, half-covered with the skins of wild beasts, hanging from their saddle bows. One of them bends his bow and aims at the white-robed women. Before the vision has vanished away, one of them will have fallen on the pavement, her breast pierced by an arrow.

For five centuries the flood of the invasions swept over Gaul, and all that Druidism, antique culture, and Christianity had sown in her would have been carried away by the torrent, had not churches and monasteries sheltered within their walls—often violated, however—the sacred treasure.

In the eighth century, the Barbarian tide reached its full. Under the influence of Charlemagne, a Latin genius in a Germanic body, barbarism was checked.

Many years ago I had occasion to study the works of a French monk of the ninth century, Servatus Lupus, Abbot of Ferrières in Gatinais. We still possess 130 letters from that learned clerk who was the disciple of Eginhard, the Counsellor and friend of Charles-the-Bald. In his writings he reveals himself as a careful administrator, a loyal subject and a learned theologian. Those letters have no trace of barbarism; some of them are charming; others are worth admiring; in them we may see the dawn of national spirit. The Abbot of Ferrières is already a "gentleman;" he is clever and witty whenever an opportunity occurs. As a rule, his tone is philosophical, slightly tinged with theology. He asks all his friends for manuscripts to copy; he sends them peach trees to be planted in their gardens; he comforts Eginhard after the death of his wife; he advises King Pepin "to be happy with the bride of his youth;" he gets from Germany bright-colored stuffs to present to the Pope, for he knows that it is not meet to go empty-handed to the palace of the Apostles. He writes to the monk Gotteskalk a letter that Jansenius would not have disavowed. He words the fulminating mercury that the Bishops of the Dukedom of France addressed to the prince of the Britons, Nomenoe, and while reading that grand philippic, one

feels sorry that Popes no longer write in such style, for there are nowadays objects worthier of censure than a petty king of Armonica.

At the end of the tenth century, modern France, "*Francia Occidentalis*," was constituted, mutilated, it is true, by the disastrous peace of Verdun, but great still, between the Meuse, the Saône, and the Rhône, comprising Flanders and Catalogna, extending from the mouth of the Escaut to that of the Eber.

The eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries were for France three great centuries of national life, three glorious periods in which reappear the spirit of adventure, the spirit of gallantry, the spirit of mysticism—the everlasting characteristics of the French soul.

The French warriors conquered Britain, Naples and Sicily, Constantinople and Jerusalem. The knights of "*la douce France*" made of the respect of woman one of the greatest virtues of chivalry. Woman was placed on a pinnacle; she was idealized, sanctified, almost deified, sung in all possible ways, so heartily and with such tender faithfulness that never did she meet again, throughout the world, such passionate worship. It was the time of heroic love.

An Anglo-Norman knight was a prisoner in Palestine. The daughter of the Saracen, his master, succeeded in effecting his escape and set out to overtake him. She knew but two things: that her friend was called Gilbert and that he lived in London. She crossed the sea, traveled through France, reached London, found Gilbert again—and became the mother of St. Thomas of Canterbury. The Church was then at the apex of her power, and the Church of France ranked among the wealthiest and most active of Christendom. The Frenchman Gerbert, who became Pope, was so learned that he was suspected of having made a covenant with the devil. Saint Bernard, the reformer of Cluny, was one of the loftiest geniuses of the Middle Ages. Guillaume de Champeaux, Roscelin, Abelard, established the renown of the University of Paris, to which hosts of students resorted, as to the greatest mart of science. Paris was the first school of theology in the world, and theology, at that time, embodied everything: philosophy, science, art; it was the whole of man, nature, and God.

France ruled the world owing to the prestige of belles-lettres and the magic of art. Her great literary reign was dawning. What Boileau contemptuously called "*the confused art of our old romancers*" makes up a magnificent collection of "*chansons de geste*," heroic love poems, gallant poetry, satirical encyclopedias, mystery plays, novels, chronicles and memoirs. Too long forgotten, the medieval literature has been revived by pious erudition and has been given back to us in scholarly editions.

After having read a few pages from Villehardouin or Joinville, all the difficulties disappear and we easily understand that admirable French prose, so accurate, so spirited, so picturesque.

Poetry requires more attention. Yet one gets easily accustomed to it. A professor at the Sorbonne has lectured these two years on "*Le Roman de la Rose*."

He told me that he had enjoyed it thoroughly and discovered in it genuine treasures. La Fontaine, whose taste was delicate, enjoyed it too.

The Roman French art, with its famous regional schools of Normandy, Saintonge, Auvergne, Burgundy, and Provence, may be looked upon as the most complete and beautiful of all. The Gothic art, "*opus francigenum*," is of French invention. Had France the single claim of having invented Gothic and built the cathedrals of Chartres, Amiens, Paris, and Rheims, her artistic glory would be peerless. Two complete styles of architecture have been invented since men have first heaped stone upon stone. Greece invented the classic orders, and France the Gothic style. To her I should award the prize.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were for France centuries of trials and unhappiness. The supremacy in art passed to Italy and Flanders, but France had Joan of Arc, and no nation in the world possesses in its history so fresh, so divine a page.

Joan of Arc was really the incarnation of France. She had the same warlike spirit, the same grace, the same humor, the same earnest mysticism, and she was womanly, just as is France. In her, the contrasts which generally exclude one another, were brought into harmony. No national reasoning is to be applied to her. Her history is intangible, as all divine works are. We are not even allowed to beautify it.

The sixteenth century marks in the history of France a second apostasy—which may be compared to the one that had followed the Roman conquest. We had a literature of our own, of inexhaustible variety, we had an art of our own, which seemed to have been created by fairies; our language, both pithy and delectable, was looked upon as the fittest for human speech. Charles V, of Austria, used to call French—which was his original language—"the language of friends," a magnificent praise, in a few words, of our idiom, fit for conversation, for the exchange of ideas, for discussion.

Then all at once, while our national development was daily increasing, a foreign influence set in and we looked to Italy. Many scholars think nowadays that by becoming too slavishly the pupil of the Italian school, France turned out to be the loser. For my part, I regret Ussé or Langeais when I stand in front of Chambord—and I think of Notre Dame while in the nave of St. Eustace. I find some solace with Rabelais and Montaigne and I feel sorry that Ronsard, so well gifted as a poet, should have wanted to speak Greek and Latin in French.

The sixteenth century had witnessed—and in that lay its tragic grandeur—the first battle between authority and liberty. The Reformation had been the first manifestation of free investigation, and the boldest fighter in the hard struggle was the Frenchman Calvin. The seventeenth century tried to reconcile the two principles and desired to be a century of religious faith as well as one of reason. I am not quite sure that it was as rational as is generally supposed; at all events, it wished to be, and it stands as a majestic landing between formidable flights of

steps, the abrupt ascents and the dizzy descents of the other centuries.

At bottom, France remained what she was. The fashionable rationalism did not cure her of her love of adventures; she went in search of glorious ones, terrible ones, too. She acquired vast territories, but ended by losing, to some extent, the confidence of Europe. The popular reason was powerless against gallantry. The age of understanding was extremely feminine. Women shone around Louis XIV, "*le Roi Soleil*," like stars of first magnitude. France still remained mystic. The names of Arnaud, Mother Angélique, Fénelon, Quesnel, bear witness to the fact. Pascal, in his "*Thoughts*," is mystic and awful. The writings of Madame Guyon, forgotten in our country, are still the savory manna nourishing thousands of Scotchmen and Scandinavians. It is said that, whenever she may be understood, Madame Guyon outdoes St. Teresa.

To my eyes, the greatest originality of the century lay in its twofold life: its tenacious, passionate will to live in accord with both faith and reason.

The seventeenth century, with Descartes, saw the birth of modern criticism, which gives as a supreme aim to the human mind the search after absolute truth, and admits as a standard of that truth nothing but palpable evidence.

Descartes, who, with all his genius, belonged to his century, kept apart the matters of faith as a world closed to the speculations of reason. He lived as a Christian and thought as a philosopher. When he was about to die, the priest who had shriven him compelled him to give up his "*Physics*," his most important work, which would, perhaps, have made him greater than Newton—and Descartes did burn his "*Physics*."

Such was the seventeenth century in its tragical conflict, embodied also in Pascal's famous words: "*Become fools that ye may believe*," which sum up, with a sort of awe, the agony of reason in face of mystery.

Criticism had not carried the day in the seventeenth century—in the succeeding age it wholly triumphed.

The ideas of Descartes had passed over to England, and there found in John Locke a much bolder interpreter than our French philosopher had been. The "*Essay on Human Understanding*," published in 1690, resolutely applied the principles expressed in the "*Discourse on Method*" to all the branches of human knowledge; it extended the empire of criticism to political and religious subjects as well as to science. Locke's philosophy had already some revolutionary touch; it contained the germ of all that was to make the harvest of the eighteenth century.

It is a well-known fact that Voltaire had to flee from Paris and take refuge in England (1726-1728). There he met Locke, and when he returned, he had become an out and out skeptic. Were reason wise, it would avoid the compromising company of wit. In Voltaire, wit meant, so to speak, the death of all enthusiasm, it extinguished all creative faculty, and quenched all earnestness of soul. Voltaire did not

create anything, but he was a powerful destroyer. He was a ruthless Democritus and spent his life laughing in the face of the gods, showing with an all but devilish joy the hollowness of our ideas, the vanity of our beliefs, the nothingness and the emptiness of human life.

Ecclesiastes sang in hopeless stanzas of the vanity of life. Voltaire spoke of it with a laugh. He related most ugly and shameful things, crimes horrible enough to make one's hair stand on end, and he concluded, with the good doctor Pangloss, that "everything is for the best in the best possible world." Man is hopelessly wicked and incurably stupid. The intelligent man ought to avoid evil as much as he can, and the foolishness of others will provide him with an amusing spectacle.

Such withering criticism called for an antidote. Rousseau brought it and endowed France with a new form of mysticism: humanitarian sensibility.

On the stage of French philosophy, Voltaire played the part of Philinte, and Rousseau that of Alceste. At bottom, neither of them thinks much good of man, but while Voltaire makes the best of him, derides him, and laughs to his heart's content at his blunders, Rousseau suffers from his malice, rebukes him for his vices, scourges his selfishness, and believes in his perfectibility. To the honor of mankind we must say that Alceste has grown more popular than Philinte. Rousseau in the end eclipsed Voltaire. The spirit of the two men may be traced in the final crisis of the century. Voltaire's principles prompted the Revolution to overthrow the old regime. Rousseau's spirit presided over the attempts—some of them very interesting—of political and social reconstruction undertaken by the Convention.

And withal, the French Revolution was feminine as France herself. As soon as America had uttered her cry of alarm, France had answered it and faced all sorts of dangers to help the United States. She had fought for five years, on land and on sea, for the freedom of others. When the Revolution sounded muster in its turn, France was all of a sudden kindled by the new ideas; she flamed up like a living torch, for she would have accepted death in order to light the world. The Revolution was warlike out of enthusiasm. She was the first to have an army made up of a whole nation. For the first time she applied personal compulsory military service. She uttered that hitherto unheard war-cry: "War to the castle; peace to the cottage." She was the first to wage war in the name of the people's rights.

According to the national temper, the Revolution remained courteous as the previous age had been. The eloquence of Théroigne de Méricourt enraptured the people of Paris. Madame Roland was the Minerva of the Girondins; Madame Tallien made Thermidor. When the Jacobins, in their frenzy, wanted to prohibit any worship but that of reason, they called upon women to personify the new deity to the eyes of the crowd. The goddesses "Reason" of 1794 were the living idols of the multitude longing, above all, for love and beauty.

And those enamored soldiers were great mystics too. They were the fighting apostles of a new faith: the faith in the omnipotence of freedom. There is something of Polyeucte in the best and purest of our great warriors.

One of Raffet's pictures expresses in the most striking way the sublime spirit of self-renunciation of the "soldats de l'an II." Without bread, shoes, or clothing they came to lay their complaints before the representative of the Convention, the citizen commissioned to the armies, who "into the Prussian ranks having pressed alone, was entitled to fling out the battle-cry of 'Forward!'"—and they are answered by this overpowering apostrophe: "What are you complaining about? The foe threatened France; you rushed forward and they were crushed; peoples were groaning in slavery; they stretched out their arms to you and you made them free! The generous folds of the three-colored flag are waving over the conquered capitals! And you complain! When there is no one but envies you!"

Our heroes of Jemmapes, Wattignies, Tourcoing and Fleurus were martyrs—and in some measure, they were saints. Never did any ascetic accept more willingly misery and suffering, thirst, hunger, fever, danger, and pain. "To go to the war," said Kleber, "means to march, to fight, without food, drink, and sleep. It means to suffer, to obey, to die!" The men of that time were great, owing to their abnegation, their courage, their discipline, since dying for liberty's sake is the supreme ambition of a truly republican soul. Everlasting honor to the soldiers of "l'an deux!"

How unfortunate for France to have then met Napoleon on her way! "O, frailty! thy name is woman," Shakespeare said. France, after having vanquished tyrants, gave herself up to the greatest despot history ever knew—and she became the vivandière of that twenty-year-old captain! God forbid I should deny the glory of Napoleon. It is made of the very substance of France; their names are so narrowly linked that it is impossible to part them. No Frenchman can remain without emotion before the porphyry tomb containing the ashes of this prodigious man, beneath the azure cupola of the "Invalides."

I grant him everything, I deny him one thing, namely, to have been the good genius of France. The contrary is true. He lost the conquests of the Republic; he united the German provinces; he gave us Prussia as a neighbor; he deprived us of the sense of freedom; with his famous institutions he put on us shackles we can hardly get rid of.

He was baleful and selfish, and yet never was any man more deeply beloved. After Waterloo, there were still in France 200,000 men who, for his sake, would have shed their blood like water.

One night, in Paris, I was speaking of Napoleon with one of my best loved professors; we had no tenderness for him. I added: "Well, my dear Maitre, everything we have been saying seems true to me, but if, in the Paris in which we now are, in the Paris of 1910, the Emperor suddenly reappeared with 800

grenadiers around him, this very evening, Paris would shout: "Long live the Emperor!" The old scholar mused for a moment; his voice became deep-toned and he said: "It may be, but it is small praise to us."

Read the "Confession d'un Enfant du Siècle" if you wish to realize what amount of disenchantment, uneasiness, incurable sadness, the great imperial adventure had left at the bottom of the French soul. France had lost her trust in her guiding star, in her genius, in her destiny.

During the years that ran from 1815 to 1870, the supremacy belonged to the middle classes, which, frightened by the rising tide of democracy, tried to stem it by restoring the old monarchy or the empire. Vain endeavors, unachievable undertakings, childish sand castles that were to be washed away by the powerful flood of new forces.

As a great nation cannot live for more than half a century without accomplishing great things, France lived, during that time, in a restless, if not very active, way—brilliantly, if none too wisely. She waged wars and gathered laurels. She conquered Algeria, the finest gem of her colonial crown. She freed Italy, and to my mind this was her best title to glory in the nineteenth century. Many criticisms have been made of this chivalrous act. By some it was deemed madness, a meaningless quixotism that nothing could excuse. And lo! today, sacrifice has begotten sacrifice, devotion echoes to devotion, Italian heroism answers to French heroism, the sisterly nations have once more renewed their friendly acquaintance in order to face the common foe. Cleverer than all the tricks and subtleties of diplomatists was the great movement that led us to Magenta and Solferino. The blood we shed then is paid back today by the alliance of Italy; the folly of 1859 has begotten the divine reason of 1915, and from the terrible trial will spring, if we wish it, the Latin confederation that shall restore, for the benefit of the noblest peoples of Europe, the western empire of old.

The political history of France during that period offers but little interest. We had some politicians of mark. I do not think we had one statesman. No one knew how to speak to France the simple, clear, noble language she was expecting. Villèle was but an administrator; Périer was but one of the 221; Guizot let out the unfortunate word that you know: "Grow wealthy!" Thiers very nearly drove us into adventure again. In Morny we find only a very witty skeptic. Rouher lacked breadth in his views.

But the noteworthy event marked the period. I do not mention the fruitless revolutions of 1830 and 1848, mere symptoms of the inward evil undermining the forces of the country. I mean the advent of universal suffrage in 1848. Not that the idea enraptures me—far from it! But whether we like it or not, it marks the end of one form of government and the starting point of the democratic era. People will try again to repair the old broken moulds, to prop up the old systems, to restore the old thrones—all in vain! They shall have to give the crowd its own share, since the greatest number carries the most weight.

And after all, this is but justice. Justice enters into play, after having heretofore been mute. A pity it is that the universal suffrage should still be but a restricted suffrage, that abstentions should deform it, that woman should be excluded from it, that the youth should have no share in it, that the soldier should be kept from it, that there should not be a strict docimasy allowing us to elect none but a blameless candidate having proved his moral worth.

Such are the reasons that keep me from admiring the universal suffrage. If the day comes when these desiderata are fulfilled, I feel sure that the voice of the people will express better than any limited suffrage has done the divine volitions that every nation bears within itself. Do we not see during the present war the reasoning power of the nations prove its superiority over that of aristocracies and princes?

The economic history of France during that period was only too brilliant. The fortune of the nation was unheard of. France, indifferently rich in 1815, grew into the multi-millionaire France of 1870, complacently displaying her wealth, sounding her money, madly fond of pleasure and amusement. It is said that, on coming away from a Court ball, an officer of the Guard joyfully exclaimed, "I don't know how long it will last, but we surely had a confoundedly jolly time while we were there!" Cynical words, to be sure, but strikingly characteristic, to which answer, like a dreadful echo, the words accredited to Colonel Ney, after Reischaffen: "Shall I tell you my thought? We are done for, but we have enjoyed ourselves confoundedly well these twenty years."

Such is the epitaph of the Second Empire. Shall I tell you, in my turn, my intimate thought, my candidly outspoken French thought? Those economic improvements we are so proud of, do not, in my eyes, deserve the praise we give them. In vain do you tell me how many harbors were dug, how many miles of railway were opened up. I shall always ask myself: "What is the good of all this if moral worth is on the decrease? Of what profit is it for a man to gain the whole world and to lose his own soul?"

The bourgeois regime was not good for the French soul; it increased its avarice, its covetousness, its selfishness; it diminished its wisdom, its patience, its courage, its power of self-denial and devotion. One man does not excel another according to what he owns, but according to his moral worth, and the nations who forget this are in danger of dreadful reverses of fortune. 1870 proved this truth.

The history of literature covered with radiant glory all those petty weaknesses.

The years following 1815 saw the outburst of a universal revival. "There is nothing left to write in the way of French verse," said the pedant Fontanes—and Lamartine answered him by publishing his "Meditations." Then came the dazzling phalanx of poets: Hugo, Vigny, Musset, Théophile Gautier, Leconte de Lisle, La Prade, Barbier, Brizeux, Bouilhet; the "poetæ minores," the lesser poets, yet of great value: Casimir Delavigne, Ponsard, Hégésippe Moreau; the dramatists: Scribe, Dumas, Legouvé, Augier, Sardou;

the novelists: Dumas again, Sandeau, George Sand, Victor Hugo, Soulié, About; the philosophers: Royer-Collard, Mayne de Biran, Lamennais, Cousin, Renan; the historians: Thierry, Guizot, Michelet; the polemicists: General Poy, Armand Carrel, Montalembert, Louis Veuillot.

All is not equally valuable in this incomparable movement, but what nation ever produced, in the space of forty years, so many different men of genius? Never did the lists of letters witness more numerous or brighter jousts! We speak of the splendor of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, but what was that compared to the lists where passed the paladins of thought, the champions of poetry and eloquence, riding the choicest steeds, covered with waving plumes, embroideries, and shining gems.

All is not pure gold in Romanticism, but what have its poets sung, its thinkers looked for, its historians related, if not the Passion of Man who, from trial to trial, under the weight of his heavy cross, climbs up the bloody hill of his Calvary, his flesh torn by the thorns of the wayside, and yet ever advancing, haunted by the mirage of Progress?

If, from the world of letters we turn our eyes to art, we find the same revival, the same indefatigable activity, the same peerless glory. What monument is grander than the "Arc de Triomphe," which, on a fine summer evening, looks in the setting sun like the triumphal gateway of Light! What painters of old can be compared to Proudhon, Gerard, Delacroix, Ingres, Flandrin, in the nineteenth century? What sculptor of former periods is to be preferred to David d'Angers, Rude, Carpeaux, who modeled marble as he would living flesh? What musician of the old times surpasses Chopin or Berlioz?

Engrossed by the pursuit of wealth and the passionate admiration of art, France neglected science and did not give to it the place it ought to have held. Yet she had Gay-Lussac, Sainte-Claire Deville, Berthelot and Leverrier.

The France of the nineteenth century was as great, as productive, as in the most glowing period of her history; no one can love her more passionately than I—nevertheless, I make bold to say that her moral health seems to have altered during that century, and the feminine character of her genius to have become more strongly marked.

France has changed the form of her government four times with no absolutely serious reason. With a clearer insight and a steadier will, she could have spared herself two revolutions and one coup d'état.

After having passed through a violent liberalistic crisis France gave herself up to the last Napoleon as she had done to the first, and that mad passion ended, as had the former one, in blood and tears. She does not seem to have had the clear consciousness of her destiny, nor to have known her own will. Although she was absolutely free to choose her way, she passed her arm through the arm of a chance Caesar and said to him, listlessly: "Lead me," and he led her on to the abyss.

Whilst the French legislation obstinately debarred the French woman from city affairs and allowed her but a subordinate place both in society and in family, she has taken her revenge by shining in all rôles and by leading those who had intended to lead her. Our wise men had dreamt of a lustreless, doctrinarian France; they have been answered by the bursts of laughter of Dejazet, the burning words of George Sand, the saucy triumphs of La Païva.

As for the national mysticism, it seemed to have died out during that period of realism, but, in fact, it had only been transformed. Lamartine and Vigny were mystics, as well as Renan and Leconte de Lisle. In place of the religious tree hewn down by the Revolutionists, there sprang up numerous shoots. Romanticism was both a dogma and a religion; Saint-Simonism, Science, Arts, Socialism, all religious.

To everything she has touched France has imparted her ardor, her burning faith, her undying hope, her universal charity, and it is because, throughout all her history, there is always to be traced the love of mankind, that France shall remain, forever, among all nations, blessed and sacred.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

(Continued from page 264)

able one, did not believe in war, while the general staff and men around the Kaiser glorified it.....Not he but Frederick the Great and the soldier caste have been the gods of Germany."

Those interested in the history of old Rome will enjoy Professor R. S. Conway's admirable article "The Place of Dido in History," read before the Society of Roman Studies in July, 1917, and now appearing in *The Quarterly Review* for July. Professor Conway sees in Vergil's creation, not only the poet's attitude on the never-ending questions concerning the claim of society as against that of the individual in general, and against that of women in particular, both of which are enforced against Dido, but also the view of his age on these questions.

The story of the oldest corporation in North America is told by Rutherford H. Platt, Jr., in his "The 250th Anniversary of the Hudson's Bay Company" which is published by *The World's Work* for August. Not a little of the value of this article consists in its most interesting illustrations.

"The most outstanding result of Italy's impoverishment and economic isolation is the enormous increase of revolutionary socialism that has taken place of late throughout the country. The nearer Italy approaches economic disaster the greater grows the danger of communistic revolution.....The bourgeoisie having utterly failed to meet the socialist-communist advances the Roman Catholic Church with characteristically effective and indirect methods undertook the task. For the Church was threatened even more fiercely than the Monarchy by the new socialism," says F. Sefton Delmer in *The Nineteenth Century* for July. How the church is meeting this crisis is the substance of an admirable article: "Partito Popolare and the Vatican."

Political Parties and the Presidential Campaign

BY HOWARD C. HILL, THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO HIGH SCHOOL

"Should a high-school instructor teach the political campaign?" I asked my friend, the doctor.

"No, certainly not!" he exploded emphatically. "Teach about political parties in the past if you want to, but don't tackle the present campaign and present-day questions."

"Well," I interpolated soothingly, "aren't you making history of little value if you have us deal only with dead issues? Shouldn't we show boys and girls how the study of the past helps us understand the problems and activities of the present?"

"Ye-s-s," he conceded reluctantly, "but you'll only stir up trouble when you teach things like politics on which folks disagree. At any rate," he added, "I don't want any teacher telling *my* boy how *I* ought to vote."

"But," I persevered, "if we confine ourselves to facts, if we let each party present its own case through its own platform and its own leaders, if we teach such topics as the development and organization of political parties, the method of conducting a campaign, the manner of electing and inaugurating a President—if we study the campaign like this, wouldn't it be unobjectionable and also worth-while?"

"Yes," he said, "that would be all right. That is, if it can be done."

The teaching outline which follows is an attempt to show one way it can be done. It is based on the assumption that the project is worth from three to four weeks' study. It is arranged with the hope of meeting actual class-room needs.

A TOPICAL OUTLINE FOR THE TEACHING OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

I. THE NATIONAL POLITICAL CONVENTION OF 1920

1. Preliminaries.

Under this sub-topic should be studied the meeting of the National Committees in Washington, D. C., about six months before the time of their respective conventions; the arguments and inducements of rival delegations for the securing of the convention; the reasons which led to the choice of Chicago and San Francisco; the issuance of the official call; the allotment and election of delegates; the preparations in the convention city; and the drawing up of the preliminary roll of delegates by the National Committee.

2. The National Conventions.

Here should come a description of the convention halls; the crowds of delegates and sightseers; the events of the opening session; the appointment and work of the committees on Credentials, Permanent Organization, Rules, and Resolutions; the adoption

of the platform; the nomination of candidates for the presidency and the vice-presidency; a comparison of the procedure of different parties—the allotment of delegates, the unit rule, the two-thirds vote, and the referendum method of the Socialist party.

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II. THE BEGINNINGS OF AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTIES

Here should be studied the reasons for political parties; conflicts in colonial days between the "governor's men" and "the assembly men;" Whigs or Patriots versus Tories or Loyalists during the Revolution; struggle over the Constitution between the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists; Hamilton's financial measures and the birth of the new Federalist and the Democratic Republican parties.¹

¹This outline, at the suggestion of Professor R. M. Tryon, was built on the counter-chronological method of approach. Teachers who prefer the customary chronological treatment should begin with topic two and place topic one as four.

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III. AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTIES AND SIGNIFICANT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

After a comparison of the principles and adherents of the Federalists and Republicans, take up "the Revolution of 1800;" the causes for the decline and disappearance of the Federalists; the period of personal politics from 1816 to 1832, with emphasis on the elections of 1824-25 and 1828; the principles and supporters of the Whig and the Democratic parties; the origin and policies of the Republican party; the election of 1860; the attitude of political parties on the chief issues since the Civil War—reconstruction currency, civil service reform, tariff, imperialism, capital and labor; the disputed election of 1876, the free silver campaign of 1896, and the election of 1912; "third" parties and their significance.

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IV. DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL MACHINERY AND METHODS

Here should be studied the electoral college and its function as intended by the framers of the Constitution; the election of 1800 and the Twelfth Amendment; the Congressional Caucus and its overthrow; the evolution of the national party convention—the Anti-Masonic convention of 1831 and its nomination of William Wirt, the Young Men's National Republican Convention of 1832 and the adoption of the first party platform, the Democratic convention of 1848 and the appointment of the first national committee; campaign methods of former days—the "Log Cabin, Hard Cider" fight of 1840, the "Rail-Splitter" canvas of 1860, and the "Mugwump" campaign of 1884; present-day party organization—the national committee and its subcommittees, Congressional and Senatorial committees, state and local committees.

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V. THE CAMPAIGN: ISSUES AND CANDIDATES

In treating this topic, it is suggested that a study be made (1) of the official platforms and utterances of the rival parties to discover the issues of the cam-

paign and the position of the various parties on each issue; (2) of the rival candidates and their records as given in their own party publications to ascertain how their training and experience appears to fit them for the presidency. The vice-presidential candidates might be taken up in the same manner, if time permits, and if not, their records might be presented in special reports. An interesting and profitable study in this connection would be an examination of the administrations of such Presidents as Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Cleveland, Roosevelt, and Wilson in order to find out, if possible, the qualities that seem to be needed in the Chief Executive; if the study is confined strictly to admitted facts it will not only illuminate the point in question, but will prove, in addition, a valuable exercise in cultivating true historical-mindedness. (In this connection pupils should read "Why Great Men Are Not Chosen Presidents," in Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, I., 78-85). The general interest in the chief candidates should not lead to a neglect of the issues and candidates in the Congressional and Senatorial campaigns, nor to an oversight of the relation between them and the presidential contest.

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VI. THE CONDUCT OF THE CAMPAIGN

The work of the various party officials and committees should be studied; next the activities of the candidates—their acceptance speeches, "front-porch" campaigns, "swings around the circle;" then publicity methods—metropolitan dailies, press service, bulletins and pamphlets, posters and placards, campaign text-books, letters and circulars; finally the financing of the campaign.

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VII. POLITICAL PARTIES AND PARTY METHODS IN OTHER COUNTRIES

While this topic might be omitted altogether, if time is unavailable, it will pay high returns in interest and a better comprehension of our own political practices if it can be studied. Great Britain, Canada, France, and Russia—possibly Italy and Germany—are recommended for the survey. In parliamentary countries like Great Britain and Canada, the relation between the ministry and Parliament and such practices as votes of confidence appeals to the country, the hustings and campaign methods, should be emphasized; France is especially useful in studying the group system of parties; Russia affords a unique instance of soviet control.

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VIII. THE ELECTION

This topic affords an excellent opportunity to study early methods of voting; the Australian ballot; modern registration requirements, polling places, arrangement of names on ticket, and the selection and functions of election officials; the marking of the ballot or the use of the voting machine; the tabulation of returns; the work of the presidential electors; the counting of the vote in Congress.

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IX. THE INAUGURATION

Studies should be made of inaugurations of interest—Washington's (see Senator Maclay's *Journal*, 1-12, or extract in James' *Readings in American History*, 208-219); Jefferson's (Henry Adams, *History of the United States*, I., 191-200); Jackson's (James, *op. cit.*, 347-351); Lincoln's (Halsey, *Great Epochs in American History*, VIII., 28-34); Wilson's (James, *op. cit.*, 570-581); procedure when Vice-President succeeds the President—Tyler, Johnson, Roosevelt; present-day ceremonies—the oath of office, inaugural address, parade, ball.

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SUGGESTIONS FOR TEACHING

I. Questions and Problems.

In connection with this topic, such questions and problems as the following might be used for class discussion:

1. Why did the framers of the Constitution not provide for the election of the President by direct vote of the people?
2. What Presidents have been elected by a minority of the popular vote?
3. Are there any objections today to a Constitutional amendment providing for direct popular election?
4. What is a caucus? Why was the Congressional caucus disliked? Are caucuses held nowadays?
5. Why did the Whigs have three candidates run for the Presidency in 1836?
6. Does a person who supports the candidates of a "third" party throw his vote away?
7. What is meant by a "dark horse?" A "favorite son?" Who was the first "dark horse?" Were there any "dark horses" or "favorite sons" in the national conventions of 1920?
8. Could a "disputed election" such as that of 1876 occur this year? Why?
9. Why has the South gone Democratic in every national election in the last forty years?
10. Why are there fewer delegates from the Southern States in the Republican convention than in the Democratic convention? Are there more delegates from the North in the Republican convention than in the Democratic convention?
11. What is the "unit rule?" Was it observed in the national conventions of 1920?
12. What is "machine politics?" Why objectionable?
13. Give arguments for and against belonging to a political party.
14. What is meant by the "short ballot?" How does the present ballot prevent rule by the people? What offices should be appointive rather than elective? What steps must be taken in order to secure a short ballot? (See Kales, *Unpopular Government in the United States*, 26-87.)

II. Illustrative Material to Use.

1. *Pictures*: conventions; candidates; convention halls; political leaders; campaign scenes; White House and Capitol Building; inaugural ceremonies. (If the suggestion is made, pupils will bring all the pictures the class can use. Good stereoptican views can be obtained from the Keystone View Co., Meadville, Pa., or from Underwood and Underwood, New York City.)
2. *Campaign Literature*: official platforms; "key-note" speeches; acceptance addresses of candidates; campaign textbooks. (This material can be obtained

upon request from the National Committees of the various parties; here, too, pupils are of great assistance in furnishing an abundance of valuable material by way of magazine articles, pamphlets, and books.)

3. *Miscellaneous*: sample ballots; phonograph records of candidates (if a phonograph is available); cartoons—see *American Review of Reviews* (June, 1920), LXI., 590-596; (July, 1920), LXII., 29034; (Aug., 1920), LXII., 141-145.

III. Things for the Pupils to Do.

1. Tabulations (to be made in connection with the study of the fifth topic).

a. In parallel columns show (a) issues in the campaign; (b) attitude of each party as shown, first, in the party platform and, second, in the acceptance speeches of the candidates.

b. In parallel columns show: (a) education of candidates; (b) occupational experience; (c) legislative and administrative training. Other columns might be added to show similar facts about Jefferson, John Quincy Adams, Jackson, Lincoln, Roosevelt, and Wilson, before they entered the presidency.

c. In parallel columns—one to each person—show the qualities displayed during their administrations by our six greatest Presidents (to be determined by the ballots of the class after several days' study). After a preliminary survey of the duties and powers of the President (Taft's *Our Chief Magistrate and His Powers* is an especially valuable discussion of the subject), a statement of the qualities needed in the Chief Executive might be formulated.

2. Diagrams and Drawings.

a. Political affiliation of the various Presidents (in colors, one color to a party, arranged in chronological order).

b. Period during which various parties were in control of the government, indicating the passage of the years by accurate scale. (Show in colors, a different color for each party.)

c. Graphs showing the increase or decline in vote of various parties (use different colored lines to designate the different parties).

3. Map Making (work to be distributed among different pupils or groups of pupils).

a. Maps of the elections of 1800, 1828, 1860, 1876, 1896. Interpret the vote of the South, the West, and the East in each of these elections.

b. Maps of the elections of 1904, 1908, 1912, 1916. Note the states that have been carried by the same political party during each of these campaigns; assuming a like result in 1920, determine the electoral vote each party may reasonably count on this year; then see how many electoral votes each lacks in order to win the election; on the basis of previous results and available straw-ballot returns, as reported in newspapers and magazines, prophesy the outcome in 1920. (Get the statistics for these exercises from such publications as the *New York World Almanac*, *Chicago Daily News Almanac*, and the *Literary Digest*.)

c. Maps of recent elections in state and city; use them for similar prognostications.

d. After the election a comparison of the results, as reported in the press, with the prophecies of the class, will prove interesting and, if the returns can be adequately interpreted, will be very instructive.

4. Mock conventions to illustrate convention procedure.

5. On election day, or the Monday preceding, have an election in which the whole school joins. Such an election can be held with preliminary registration requirements, election judges, printed ballots, booths, and ballot boxes; the polls should be opened a certain time before school is in session, during the noon period, and for a short time after dismissal.

If this involves too much time and effort, blanks can be distributed at the school doors in the morning; on these each pupil can write the name of the candidate he prefers, and sign his own name (to avoid duplication of ballots by pupils), and drop his vote in a ballot box located in a convenient place in the corridor. The result will be awaited with an interest second only to that of the real election.

The Political Campaign in High School Classes

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This article is written in response to a request from the editor of *THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK* that I present my views as to how the political campaign should be handled in high school classes. I am glad to write it because the question of political parties and elections, and their relation to our government is a very vital matter, so much so indeed that it would be decidedly unfortunate for our country if this subject were not

thoroughly discussed by the millions of young Americans in our schools.

No teacher should approach the all-absorbing topic of the political campaign with fear and trembling, but rather with common sense and a level head. Some years ago when current affairs were first introduced into our schools as a serious part of the school curriculum, a friend of mine told me that if I continued

to teach political questions of contemporary interest, I would soon lose my position. He felt sure that such matters could not be discussed in the classroom without giving serious offense to members of the school committee and to the parents of the pupils. I suppose I was among the very first to introduce newspapers and magazines in class work, and I have been teaching public affairs through them ever since, the only difference being that I advocate such work now more strongly than when I began it.

This leads me to say that the attitude of the teacher in handling public questions is perhaps the most important thing. Above all things, he must not be partisan. This does not mean that he is not to say what the different parties and the leaders of the different parties stand for on public questions. For years pupils have been trying to find out what party I belong to and have frequently asked me if I belonged to this party or that party. At times they have thought I was a Democrat, at other time a Republican, and some have even considered me to be a Socialist. I know of no evidence of fairer handling of political matters than this very searching to find out to what party the teacher belongs. Now a partisan is one who cannot conceal his political party affiliations. He is a person who stands for a particular organization or party through thick and thin, who believes his party always right, no matter what it stands for, and one who will vote for those on his party ticket no matter what they believe or do. A partisan believes that the worst man in his party is better than the best man in any other party. In a democracy no one should be a partisan, though in the very nature of such a government in modern times every one should, I suppose, belong to some one of the political parties. But I would teach that if the party to which one might belong comes to be run in the interest of a few powerful men, if it should nominate men and women who are distinctly non-progressive and reactionary, if it should take a dishonorable and immoral stand on questions of public importance, if it should be guilty of these things or any one of them, I would teach that the interest of the Nation must always be put over and above the interest of party, and that if the individual is convinced that his party is wrong and another party is right on public questions, the thing for him to do would be to refuse to vote his own party ticket and vote for the other party. No dishonor can be attached to such a course of action.

How much time should the teacher devote to the political campaign this fall? I have planned to give all of the time to it, every bit of it, that is assigned usually to both history and civics, and that will be altogether too short. Some of the questions raised by this exceedingly important election will be considered throughout the school year in some classes. The regular history work—that is, the textbook history—will not begin in my classes before about the middle of November. The time to discuss questions is when they are real live questions and not when they become academic questions.

Among the definite things to be considered in my classes are the following:

1. *Political words and expressions.*

Don't forget that words are the tools of the thinker, and that no clear thinking can be done without an exact understanding of the use of words. The educated person is known by the precise use of terms. Very frequently the real meaning of a whole paragraph or even a topic depends upon grasping the content of a single word. The teacher should encourage pupils to bring up for explanation terms whose meaning they don't know. This work is absolutely essential to real education. Senator Harding advocates a protective tariff. How can pupils or any one else understand his whole discussion of this topic unless the exact meaning of tariff, free trade and protective tariff is comprehended. In my experience I have found that almost all pupils in defining protective tariff leave out the absolutely essential idea. A tariff cannot be protective unless the type of goods upon which the tariff is levied are produced or manufactured in the country that levies the tariff.

Among the words and expressions that should certainly receive careful consideration are the following: Politics, political party, candidate, nominee, appoint, elect, public opinion, government, party government, congressional government, personal government, popular government, responsible government, a republic, a democracy, the Cabinet, international, covenant, mandate, the Constitution, constitutional, a reactionary, a conservative, a progressive, freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of assembly, collective bargaining, plank, platform, co-operative marketing, inflation, deflation, budget system, suffrage, patriotism, Americanism.

2. *Party platforms.*

The reading of the Democratic, the Republican and the Socialist platforms should be assigned to each member of all the history classes, and also the reading of the acceptance speeches of Governor Cox and Senator Harding and those of Mr. Coolidge and Mr. Roosevelt. A wealth of information and political understanding can be secured in this way. The pupils should be cautioned about taking as true the partisan preachments in these documents. In the large these platforms and speeches give an excellent summary of contemporary American history and problems. The National Committees will undoubtedly be glad to send enough of these pamphlets so that each pupil could have one. Work out with the pupils, or have each pupil work out by himself, in parallel columns a comparison of the platforms of at least the Democratic, the Republican and the Socialist parties. Arrange this work in three parallel columns. It is possible that the parents of pupils might receive some benefit from this phase of the work.

3. *Topics and questions for discussion.*

In this work, as in all history and civic teaching, the so-called recitation should be almost wholly superseded by discussion. The teacher should not give his

class the impression that he rather intends to have them believe in any particular way concerning a public question. Both sides should be heard. Many pupils, as well as some teachers, think that justice has not been done a problem unless a final solution of it is arrived at. Personally, I think such is a mistaken conception. In a democracy there are very few problems indeed that can receive final solution. It would be well to keep in mind that *possible* solutions of public questions and not *ultimate* solutions should be expected. Difference of opinion is the salvation of democracy, because it keeps a democracy from becoming an autocracy. The teacher, therefore, should not only welcome difference of opinion. He should encourage it. The discussions ought to be so conducted that both proponents and opponents will listen patiently and calmly, though pronounced differences in belief are held. Studying current problems and questions with others in the spirit here suggested is an experience every young American should have. Misstatements ought not to be left unchallenged. This sort of training is hard on personal prejudice and unsupported personal opinion.

Some of the questions and problems that my classes will take up during the campaign and after are the following:

1. What is a political party? Why do we have political parties? Could a democracy get along very well without them?
2. In what respects is a political campaign of today conducted differently than in the days of Thomas Jefferson? Have we improved any on the methods and materials used?
3. Are any qualifications required in joining a political party? Should every man and woman join a party and support its principles and candidates? Of what value is the independent voter?
4. If a young person asked you which political party he should join, what would you tell him? What are the things that should influence an individual to join one party and not another?
5. What is a political platform? What is meant by a plank in a platform? Of what value is a platform? Should the voters of the Nation hold the successful party strictly accountable for the promises made in its platform?
6. Some believe that there are no real differences between the Democratic and the Republican parties today. Is this so?
7. Compare what the two leading platforms say about (1) the cost of living, (2) labor in industries and on the farms, (3) the railways, and (4) the League of Nations. Do the views expressed in the two platforms on these questions agree with your own views? If so, tell why. If not, tell why not.
8. Tell with reasons what you think of this comment: "In the study of political platforms it is the man behind the words that counts."
9. What planks appear in the Prohibition and the Socialist platforms that do not appear in the platforms of the two leading parties? Discuss some of these.

10. Whom do you like better, Senator Harding or Governor Cox? What are your reasons? Compare the public record of these two men. Make a similar comparison of the records of Governor Coolidge and Mr. Roosevelt.

11. Give a rather full account of the "grooming," the nominating and the electing of a Presidential candidate. Does it seem to you that the popular will has ever been truly represented in the first two of these processes? Prove what you say.

12. What, in your opinion, are the essential qualifications for the Presidency? Do Senator Harding and Governor Cox possess these qualifications? Does the Socialist candidate?

13. What is the difference between a minor party and a third party? Name some of each. Is there a third party now? Do you think America is destined to remain a two-party country? Discuss.

14. How are Senators and Representatives nominated and elected? Who elects the President? What are the constitutional qualifications of these public representatives? Should those who occupy these positions be subject to popular recall? Give several reasons why or why not.

15. Describe party organization in your own state. Is there anything wrong with its operation?

16. Do you think all those qualified should be compelled to vote?

17. Were you eligible, for which Presidential candidate would you vote? What are your reasons?

18. Explain fully how treaties with foreign countries are made. Is the President obliged to consult with the Senate during the negotiation of a treaty? Did President Wilson exceed his constitutional authority in negotiating the Treaty of Versailles?

19. Should the amount of money a candidate or a party might spend in a campaign be limited? Who are forbidden to make contributions to campaign funds? From what sources do the political parties get their funds? What arguments can you think of for and against campaign expenses being paid by the Federal Government?

20. What are the political duties of the American citizen? Do you think any political responsibility rests upon those under voting age?

4. A few other things.

Teachers should ask their classes to follow the political campaign consistently by making use of the daily newspapers and the magazines that record and interpret current affairs. In doing so it would be well to caution the pupils about the party leanings of the daily papers in particular. I think I am right in saying that most young people do not understand the designs and aims lying back of newspaper headings and editorials. They should be informed that the *New York Tribune*, for instance, is a distinctly partisan Republican paper. They should know that the *New York World* is a distinctly partisan Democratic paper. Other newspapers should actually be called out by name and their party position made known. This information will put pupils on guard

A Plea for Campaign Civics

BY WILLIAM H. ALLEN, DIRECTOR OF INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC SERVICE,
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The whole world outside our own country is watching with deep concern the outcome of our presidential election. Between now and the middle of November no other subject, and probably no other ten subjects, will be talked about so much and so often in news item, editorial, cartoon and oral debate as our campaign issues, party pledges, criticisms and candidates.

Any subject or situation which the whole world, including our whole nation, considers of enough importance to debate continuously for months is important enough for attention in classroom and assembly no matter what the prescribed course of study is.

As experience shows, however, campaign civics can be so taught in history, civics, geography and language classes that it will be easier to carry the prescribed course of study than is possible without use of interesting campaign topics that classes hear discussed on the streets, in public meetings and at home.

Controversial? No teacher need be afraid of any subject that a whole nation is debating. It is the school's privilege to teach, not to settle or to judge. Campaign civics is non-partisan in the sense that truth about facts is non-partisan. The pledges of the Republican Party are party pledges. They proceed from partisan motives and judgments. A brief summary of those pledges which separates specific from unspecific pledges, out-and-out pledges from endorsements and beliefs, is non-partisan. Likewise, a dramatization by a class of two opposing positions taken by the two major parties—a few can be found—is non-partisan. Collections of cartoons and of clippings properly analyzed with descriptions of how the different parties are conducting their campaigns, what they say about one another, what they promise the public, what Europe thinks about it, all of that is non-partisan.

In many high schools students were told the first day of this school year that they must read at least two sides of the political campaign, must cut out interesting items; keep the clippings carefully classified, bring in cartoons and have them mounted for exhibit in the class, and must practice asking questions which will lead to the facts back of claims and pledges. In other schools there will be mock conventions and mock elections from which classes will learn more in a few minutes or hours than in many weeks of textbook, reference reading or lecture.

Community civics is a travesty and extravagance during a national campaign or in an after-war year unless community means our nation and issues which our nation is discussing.

There are those who believe no school or college can be called 100% wide-awake Americans this year which fails to train for citizenship via campaign civics. The first fortnight of public school furnished two ex-

cellent texts, Labor Day and Constitution Day. Because of their importance in the campaign the civics of Labor Day and the present-day civics implied in Constitution Day may yet easily be taught, for classes will be highly receptive to their lessons.

Labor Day is a legal holiday in forty-seven states. There is a reason. Desire to emphasize the dignity of labor in many states has had less influence than desire to recognize labor's political influence. Labor Day is an expensive indulgence. It costs hundreds of millions of dollars for the country to stop the wheels of industry a whole day. It may be that labor accomplishes more in September than it would if there were no legal holiday. Scores of important questions should be asked of young Americans about Labor Day and its meaning and about Labor's place in our growing, thinking and voting.

Labor in party platforms and candidates' speeches of acceptance may be profitably studied even in the early days of October. The two principal parties came out strongly against compulsory arbitration of labor disputes. Why did this position disappoint the great labor organizations? What are the civic dangers involved? What does Governor Allen of Kansas mean when he speaks of the submerged 90%? What is the Kansas arbitration law? Why did President Wilson call two labor conferences last year and what happened? How much more does labor now earn of food, clothing, home luxuries and prestige than before the since-the-war increases in wages?

There is no school or college in the United States that cannot afford the time necessary to have its people understand the significance of labor civics and its elements. Nor is there a school that can afford to have its young people in ignorance as to the meaning of Sovietism and Bolshevism, of so-called radical labor and of Socialism. We are voting on these questions. We cannot go straight unless we have facts. Where a course of study does not permit exclusive attention it will permit assembly topics, four-minute speeches, library reading, classroom debates, home conferences and school clinics in straight thinking of campaign civics.

Constitution Week was from September 13 to September 18, but every week is Constitution Week. There is time for every school or class to have its own summary of what our Constitution adopted 132 years ago does today for individual liberty and opportunity. A whole world is talking about our Constitution. Political parties are debating how the League of Nations treaty should be qualified in order to assert that America is bound by its Constitution and will do nothing even for world peace that is not permitted in our Constitution. Why, pray, should young people studying history and civics be denied the privilege of

thinking through to the bottom of questions that are being raised about our Constitution right now during a campaign when adults out of college—including several million newly enfranchised women—are voting about the Constitution?

Almost no school or college in the country is without its one or its tens of hundreds of members who are accustomed to hear at home serious criticisms of our Constitution. Many of them believe that our Constitution is out of date, that it is hampering our growth, that it is playing into the hands of vested interest. While 30,000,000 voters are being asked to vote this way and that way with respect to our Constitution is the dramatic time to interest classes in history and civics in the elasticity of our Constitution, in the ease with which it has been amended eighteen times, in the method which it has prescribed for amending. Even young people who love to think themselves radical can be interested in the fact that our Constitution is a written contract which provides within itself for changing the contract and which imposes upon minorities as well as majorities the obligation to abide by the contract in seeking to amend it.

Any teacher of history or civics, however seemingly bound by a conventional outline that concerns itself this fall with the Greeks at Thermopylae, Hannibal crossing the Alps or Adams trying to enforce alien and sedition laws will find it pays to use a whole country's interest and debate to awaken interest in her class. Last year a county normal school director did not receive her textbooks in educational psychology until Thanksgiving. She had to teach her psychology from incidents in the classroom, playground and student experiences. Imagine her surprise when upon the arrival of the books she found that she was far in advance of the point for which the course of study called! It will be the same with campaign civics. Classes who are helped to think straight with the materials that their parents and friends and newspapers and paraders are using at white heat will find little difficulty in gleaning from the past many vital lessons.

Fortunately evidence abounds that campaign civics can be successfully taught. In Brooklyn there is a large elementary school which has in its corridors and classrooms the school slogan, "Think Straight." Day after day in the assembly of that school hundreds of young children even in the grades ask questions, bring results of home discussions and out-of-class reading, learn to question before speaking, learn to prefer the greatest good for the greatest number and learn to think straight about the duties and privileges of citizenship. It can be done. Pupils and students will do their part. Teachers can teach campaign civics more easily than they teach any other single thing in history or civics. The main question is, will school managers permit this method of training for citizenship? Most managers will if teachers show the interest and ask the privilege.

In the title "Europe's Pessimistic Attitude toward Our Presidential Election" (*Current Opinion* for August), the

general tone of the article is expressed. Editorial comments on opinions culled from representative English papers, form the substance.

BOOK REVIEWS

USHER, ABBOTT PAYSON. *An Introduction to the Industrial History of England*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1920. \$2.50.

This book was planned and written for the use of beginning students of economic history in colleges. Knowing the thorough and painstaking scholarship of the author, one expects a work of very great value. From this point of view the book meets expectations. The reader is presented with an excellent series of essays on various topics in economic history. The first three chapters deal with "Forms of Industrial Organization," "The Rise of the Crafts in Antiquity," and "Crafts and Craft Guilds in Medieval France." These are good, but are very remote from English Industrial History. The Anglo-Saxon period is passed over and the first chapter dealing with England is a study of population from 1086 to 1700. Then follow chapters on "Village and Manor," "The Traders and the Towns," and "The Development of Guilds in England." The early modern period is treated in chapters on the "Woolen Industries" and "The Enclosure Movement and Land Reform." The industrial revolution is treated as a long evolutionary process rather than a series of genuinely revolutionary changes. The cotton industry is traced from its beginnings in India through the changes made during the industrial revolution and in the nineteenth century. The progress of reorganization of the metal trades, the rise of the modern factory system and of collective bargaining and the enactment of laws to protect health and social welfare receive full attention. The chapters on railway development and the relations between the government and the railways will prove interesting to one who knows English railway geography, but a little hard for others to understand. The book closes with brief chapters on combinations and monopolies and the problems of incomes of the laborers and the causes of social unrest.

Most of these essays or brief surveys are very good, though some are condensed into so small a space as to be rather uninteresting reading. The information is conveyed in a topical form very useful and convenient to college students. But the book lacks unity. The reader who looks for a connected account will be disappointed. Certain topics or periods are admirably treated, others are omitted or sketched with extraordinary brevity. The book will provide useful readings for college students, but is likely to be rather too difficult for high school pupils.

CLARENCE PERKINS.

Ohio State University.

BIGELOW, POULTNEY. *Prussianism and Pacifism*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1919. 273 pp. \$1.50.

Prussianism and Pacifism is a book of strong sentiments, strongly expressed. It might best be classified as a belated "hymn of hate," for the author shows himself to be a generous hater. It would not be difficult to guess from

the title that amongst the objects of his hatred *Prussianism* occupies a foremost place. Bismarck is "the reincarnation of Thor, Wotan, Siegfried—the ancestral type that has displaced the blessed Saviour in modern Germany and substituted a polytheistic Walhalla where Wagnerian choirs chant of blood, and an iron chancellor marks time on a noisy anvil." "Officers cultivate a vicious snarl when addressing their docile troops, and even the railway servants answer the questions of travelers after the manner of men who do not wish to be confused with mere civilians." "Inoffensive, thrifty, and possibly molluscous," small wonder is it that the denizens of central Europe, "who of two sounds clutch eagerly at a harsh one" and call that event which is known to the civilized world as Sadowa *Die Schlacht bei Koeniggratz*, should fall victims to "Prussianism" and become "in a short period an organized terror and the main support of a mad autocracy."

"Wilhelm I would gladly march out and shoot down every man, woman, or child who by act or innuendo reflected on his divine right." The rash acts of Wilhelm II are explainable by no other hypothesis than that he suffers from paranoia, "a species of chronic unrest, neuro-psychopathic in its nature and marked by sudden desires reversed with equal suddenness." "Noisily slapping the somnolent Sultan on the back; jovially claiming him as a dear old pal; and proving to him in conclusive manner that France was now dead, England moribund, and only the Hohenzollern counted," William contributes not a little to the liveliness of Mr. Bigelow's pages.

Amid the diabolic forms which flit across the black night of "Prussianism," two alone seem to appeal to Mr. Bigelow. One is von Moltke. There is a genuine appreciation of his organization of the railways whereby a German army is raised, equipped and deposited on the soil of the enemy "in the time which we would be wasting by covering our fences with liberty posters and holding meetings to encourage recruitment." Moltke had evidently the makings of a better man, and had he lived in London instead of Berlin, Mr. Bigelow thinks he might have been the editor of a flourishing atlas, or a F. R. G. S. or possibly geographer to the queen. The other figure is that of Frederick the Noble, redeemed from sinister influences perhaps by his marriage with the daughter of Queen Victoria.

No less hateful to Mr. Bigelow are the "drowsy doctrines of pacifism." From the spell of such slogans as "Peace Without Victory," and "Too proud to fight," even Prussianism brought salvation. "The poisonous character of pacifism can be studied under the mandarins in China and the Rajahs in India no less than under a Thomas Jefferson or a William Jennings Bryan." To the poison of those early Christian socialists the downfall of the Empire of the Caesars is largely attributable. Surely the rule of a pacifist in Washington is full of peril. Beware the scholarly rhetoric and platitudes of an autodidactic president. "Nebulous phrases like Freedom of the Seas, League of Nations, Rights of Self-Determination, etc.," are offspring of the flabby mind. "A League of Nations means nothing but material for college debating societies." It is a delusion as "old as pacifism, teetotalism, bolshevism, feminism, and all the other isms with which we are plagued by so-called humanitarians."

"Salvation by serums" is also on the list of the odious. "Our medical officers inject poison into our recruits by way of preventing possible disease. We have so far squirted but three kinds of serums into them, but there are many dozens of them on the market and fanaticism amongst physicians falls little short of that generated by too much theology."

It would not be right to omit from this picture the very keen dislike which Mr. Bigelow has for theology, especially Catholic theology. It would be hard to say whether he hates more the Roman church or Prussianism. Our enemies in the Great War he characterizes as an amicable league of Pope, Sultan and Kaiser. "If one dared to generalize in so delicate a matter it might be profitable to comment on the fact that in 1870 the warmest support of Napoleon III was the Roman church, and that support cost him his throne. In 1914 Wilhelm II found in the Vatican his dearest encouragement—and he too lost his throne. United Italy has had but one mortal enemy, the Pope; and consequently she has grown and prospered." Mr. Bigelow invokes the Furies upon the aged Empress Eugenie as "she mumbles over her beads and crosses herself in senile bigotry. Let her know that France was crushed because Pius IX was on her side; and make her now quiver, ye messengers of historic vengeance, with the damning truth that France is once more great because she is once more free."

Mr. Bigelow's book is entertaining. Of its value as history the above excerpts testify.

H. M. VARRELL.

Simmons College.

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